THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. V. NO 34. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, JULY 2, 1899. WHOLE NO. 222.

"THE MAN WITH THE HOE."

(Written after seeing Millet's world-famous painting.)

"God made man in His own image,
in the image of God made He him."—Genesis.

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

Is this the Thing the Lord God made and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?
Is this the Dream He dreamed who shaped the suns
And pillared the blue firmament with light?
Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this—
More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed—
More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!
Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;
Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;
Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned and disinherited,
Cries protest to the Judges of the World,
A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and soul quenched?
How will you ever straighten up this shape;
Touch it again with immortality;
Give back the upward looking and the light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
Make right the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the Future reckon with this Man?
How answer his brute question in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
With those who shaped him to the thing he is—
When this dumb Terror shall reply to God,
After the silence of the centuries?

—Edwin Markham

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

THE CRISIS OF SOCIALISM.

Our friend Domela Nieuwenhuis published in the *Societe Nouvelle* of Brussels (March and May 1894), two remarkable studies of German Social Democracy: "The Divers Courses of the German Social Democracy," and "Socialism in Danger;" and he follows these two studies by a third: "Libertarian Socialism and Authoritarian Socialism," published in the September and October numbers of the same review.

In these articles, based entirely on what has been said and published by the chiefs of the party themselves, and entirely divested of the element of polemics, Nieuwenhuis has demonstrated how the party, by its very essence, is forcibly brought to become bourgeoisist (the mere representatives of the well-to-do middle class) to abandon its Socialistic program and to become more and more the password, not of the proletarians, but of the radical petty bourgeois. Formerly when the Anarchists said this to their Social Democratic friends they were treated as calumniators. Today it is admitted in the official organs of the party, by one of its most esteemed chiefs, Bebel.

In these articles Nieuwenhuis shows clearly that—to use the words of Bebel—"this defilement and this debilitation (Verwässerung) of the party" necessarily results from divers causes: the principles themselves, enunciated in their program of Erfurt; authoritarian organization and authoritarian principles, and finally, the economic basis of the life of the party,—the emolument of the editors and agitators, and the "little Socialist trade" practiced on a big scale, which greatly increases numbers, but finishes by causing the petty bourgeois to dominate. It follows that when Vollmar, the chief of the "right" of the party, went so far as to turn completely over to bourgeoisism, even to voting in the Bavarian diet the budget of the government, and that an important faction of the Democracy, with Bebel at the head, wished to censure him for it, the Congress passed a sponge over it by saying that his conduct was absolutely in conformity with the principles enunciated at Erfurt, at that time the constitution of the party; that it conformed in every point with all preceding parliamentary practices.

In other words: the development into bourgeoisism was foreseen; it was willed by the very enunciation of the principles. The moral "considerations" were only a far-off ideal, an ornament. Let us add here the absolute absence of the critical spirit. For fear of destroying the unity of the party, all criticism is eliminated in advance. Whoever dares to criticise, be it the principles or the theocratic ideas in vogue, the tactics, or the acts of any of the "men of trust" who constitute what has been called "the future dictatorship of the proletariat," is immediately torn to pieces, thrown as prey to the journalists and orators whose capacities and degree of advancement are measured very often (according to the just remark of Richard Calwer) by their "venomous tongues;" (they do not discuss; they preach or they insult; again one of the distinctive features of the party.) Also, while economic ideas are gaining in depth, even in the bourgeois science, under the whip of Socialistic criticism, and new questions and new perceptions are surging forward—as it always happens with science under the official seal, the science of the party is motionless. It is arrested at the "Communist Manifesto," which dates fifty years back, and at Marx's "Capital," which, whatever may be said of it, has had its day. Whether there be dissensions in the German Social Democracy or not, whether there be divisions with outbreaks or no, scarcely interests us. The governmental Socialist party is already divided into so many warring factions in France and England, that a division more or less would not make any difference. The German Social Democracy is also divided—we are well aware of it: there are the Vollmar, Bebel, and Liebknecht factions, and still others. Exterior unity only is maintained—above all by the ever renewed persecutions—and if this show of unity disappeared also, hardly anything would be changed. The essential thing for us is this: This is, undoubtedly, a time of arrest in the development of Socialism. The time has arrived when the Socialistic workers, after having been blindly ranged under this or that flag, put to themselves the question as to the essence of Socialism. And this question, once put, they will be forced to treat it, to elucidate their ideas, to become exact. And we are persuaded, that if political events do not precipitate us too suddenly into the fiery furnace of wars and revolutions,—which is very possible—governmental Socialism, split everywhere into parties and divers factions, will be forced to change its tactics completely.

We see this renovation and rejuvenation coming, and we hail it with joy. We see, betrayed by a thousand various indications, the need of revising throughout the fundamental principles of governmental Socialism penetrating further every day. And we are persuaded, by the thousand little facts which we observe in the movement, by the change of language even and the new ideas which permeate the Socialist writings and discourses, that this need is making itself felt more and more. It only seeks its constructive formula to affirm itself in broad daylight.

Hence can we believe, can the workers believe, in this "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat," which formerly inspired so many millions of workers? Vague formulas, which constituted the "Communist Manifesto," which they accepted in its poetic generalization without fathoming it, and which we have seen translated in Germany by the "men of trust," in France by *blanquisme*—government, in a word, by the secret society. Does any one believe in it now? Incapable of bringing to a safe harbor a single party, is this lie of a dictatorship of the proletariat capable of inspiring the masses? No, assuredly no.

Again, do they, in Germany itself, believe in the popular parliament—in the *Volksstaat* or popular State—represented by a parliament of electors, who will seize all lands, mines, machines, railways (leaving the inhabited houses and stores to their owners, according to the formula, or perhaps taking possession of them also) and regulating from Berlin the laws and customs concerning the possession of land, the price of the possession of machines, their supply of raw materials and their manufacture, the carrying of merchandise, exportation and foreign commerce, sending out "armies of agricultural workers" to tear down hedges and make the steam engine go under orders from Berlin, etc., etc.? Do they believe in this, as Marx and Engels believed in it in 1846, and as it was believed in in Germany after the success of the armies of Moltke, when men knew nothing of the war but what the lying bulletins said of it? No, they believe it no longer, even in Germany. Certainly not in the Vollmar faction, not among those who have addressed the peasants and who have taken good ca[illegible]o mirror to them the ideal formerly preached by the [illegible]uthoritarian Communists. And certainly they no longer believe it in Berlin where they have had a close view of what a parliament is, what it must be from its very essence, what it would be again after a revolution. As to France and England, the people do not believe too much in even municipal Socialism; and at Paris they are suspicious even of the Socialism of a revolutionary Commune.

* * *

And in the constructive economic ideal, a revolution almost as profound has, for twenty years, been taking place among the thinkers. Twenty years ago, not understanding any too well the terminology of Marx, one might still speak naively of the grand discovery of "surplus value," and win applause by saying: "Surplus value to the worker!" But today he who hazards this tirade is speedily engaged in recollecting that *surplus* value means the exploitation of some one by another; that the worker will have none of it, and that the question is to know "what to do in order that all things may be produced in such quantities, that each may have his necessities gratified at his discretion and luxuries to satisfaction—that which is luxury today becoming the necessity of tomorrow!"

Finally, in Germany itself, the belief in the popular and Socialistic State is greatly shaken. Not only is the impossibility of it perceived, but the people commence to understand that since they have parted with the idea of "the conquest of power" in the actual State, they will be forced to work for the maintenance of the State in general,—that is to say, for the maintenance of the phase of civilization which, throughout all history, (the empire of Alexander, the Roman empire, and the modern empires) has corresponded to the destruction of all liberties, to the enslavement of the producer, to the formation of industrial and land monopolies,—a phase which leads inevitably, either to Cæsarism or to the destruction of the State from top to bottom by the social revolution; and that, in the actual conditions, the chase after power must lead, has led, to the abandonment of Socialism, to any and every accomodation with industrial exploitation, and political and military servitude.

* * *

Well, these ideas, we say, have penetrated the masses. And this is why it is no longer a question of one simple division more, in the womb of the great governmental Socialist party.

Complete revision of fundamental principles is demanded. Socialism, such as has been propagated up to our days, must change its plan entirely, under pain of disappearing. It must become Communistic again. And since, in becoming Communistic, it cannot remain authoritarian without falling into absurdity, it must become Anarchistic.—Peter Kropotkin.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

For San Francisco.

Emma Goldman will lecture on the following dates and subjects at the Temple, 117 Turk St., at 8 p. m.:

Saturday, July 1: "A Criticism on Ethics."

Thursday, July 6: "Why I an an Anarchist-Communist."

FREE SOCIETY.

FORMERLY "THE FIREBRAND."

Published Weekly by Free Society Publishing Ass'n.

50 CENTS A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to **FREE SOCIETY**, 43 Sheridan St., San Francisco, California.

Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

Comrade Emma Goldman arrived here June 22 and delivered her first lecture the 24th. Her subject was, "Politics: Its Corrupting Influence on Man." She showed conclusively that corruption is an essential part in politics and that principles are always neglected as soon as a political party is formed whose sole aim is to gain power. The Socialists were not satisfied, of course, and for lack of argument accused her of being an emissary of the capitalists. The sale of literature evidenced, however, that she had been able to arouse interest in our cause. The meetings for next week will be announced in the *Examiner*, *Call* and *Chronicle* in the column of "Sunday Meetings."

* * *

John P. Altgeld recognizes the futility of legislative and palliative measures and advocates government ownership. He says:

For a quarter of a century both political parties have denounced corporations, trusts and monopolies. Nearly every state in the union has legislated against them. The federal government has legislated against them. Yet, in spite of this denunciation, they have gone on multiplying. State legislation has been found to be absolutely futile because federal judges uniformly declared it to be unconstitutional. Federal legislation has likewise been found to be futile. The trusts are masters of the situation. It is evident that to simply go on denouncing trusts is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.

It is strange indeed that these reformers fail to take notice of the equally bad condition of the workers in countries where the government owns the railroads, telegraphs, waterworks, etc. True, we are told what savings those respective governments have made, but what we are concerned about is to know how it has benefitted the producers.

* * *

One that reads the many letters from "our heroes" now in Manila will soon be convinced that there are no greater and more cold-blooded murderers than the American governors. A sympathetic volunteer writes:

"Talk about Spanish cruelty, they are not in it with the Yank! Even the Spanish are shocked. Of course I don't expect war without death and destruction, but I do expect that when an enemy gets down on his knees and begs for his life that he won't be shot in cold blood. But it is a fact that the order was not to take any prisoners, and I have seen enough to almost make me ashamed to call myself an American."

But there are some that are imbued with more patriotism and are not so tender-hearted as the above. For instance:

"The town of Tiatia was surrendered to us a few days ago, and two companies occupy the same. Last night one of our boys was found shot and his stomach cut open. Immediately orders were received from General Wheaton to burn the town and kill every native in sight, which was done to a finish. About 1,000 men, women and children were reported killed. I am probably growing hard-hearted, for I am in my glory when I can sight my gun on some dark skin and pull the trigger."

And the following letter from E. D. Fohrman, a member of the Washington volunteers, explains why some of the "heroes" have volunteered to stay at Manila in order to civilize the Filipinos, a mission which seems to be quite profitable:

"We burned hundreds of houses and looted hundreds more. Some of the boys made good hauls of jewelry and clothing. Nearly every man has at least two suits of clothing, and our quarters are furnished in style; fine beds with silk and drapery, mirrors, chairs, rockers, cushions, piano, hanging lamps, rugs, pictures, etc. We have horses and carriages and bull carts galore, and enough furniture and other plunder to load a steamer."

* * *

The action of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois has again demonstrated that the purpose of men who are merely the tools of the monopolists and the workers should take notice of the fact. Last year this board decided that the wages for mining coal should be 40 cents per ton, and now, since the mine owners are better prepared for a strike, that same body reduces the scale to 30¼ and 35½ cents, according to locality.

Government and monopoly are interdependent; they are twin-criminals; a State Board of Arbitration must therefore of necessity be favorable to monopoly. A. I.

* * * * *

AMONG THE FARMERS.

Comrade Emma Goldman stopped over a few days in our little city, addressing two meetings which were fairly well attended considering the combative element it is composed of.

This city is located in the famous Willamette valley "where health and plenty bless the laboring swain;" where not one man or woman has been compelled to tramp for a job, nor go hungry; where, with but few exceptions, the church has held absolute sway. I venture to assert that among all its inhabitants not a single individual realizes the deplorable conditions existing in the slums of our large cities. They can only dimly comprehend the awful state of affairs beyond their little horizon; the actual misery and deprivation, the demoralizing effects of our public institutions upon their victims, the corrupting influence of our political, economic and social system are beyond the pole of their knowledge. They could, therefore, not be expected to fall in line or sympathize with one of the extensive experience, the deep all-abiding tenderness of Emma Goldman. They cannot realize the suffering she has endured, the constant struggles she has undergone in order to break the chains capitalism has forged upon the limbs of her fellow men and women. They cannot conceive of beings, men or women, who gladly devote their lives, without compensation, to a cause so unpopular. Yet we know such courage, such earnestness of purpose cannot fail to be felt. To what extent, of course, remains to be seen.

The subjects of Emma's lectures were: "Authority vs. Liberty" and "Charity," both being handled in a masterly manner. The sentiments expressed seemed to be appreciated by the audience generally and were heartily endorsed by a number. Her challenge to debate with any school of thought, or answer any question which might be asked was only accepted by one man who evinced an earnest desire for the truth. He was answerd by the lecturer in a plain, straightforward manner that all could understand and appreciate.

Even in this comparatively well-to-do little city there are individuals who are beginning to be haunted by the thoughts that conditions are taking on a serious aspect, and they are thinking seriously of their insecurity. They see that their chances for standing ground are decreasing and that their right to a share of the earth is only a dream. That their recognition among capitalists as rightful heirs to the improvements of the ages is but an empty phrase, is beginning to dawn upon them more forcibly as one set of masters succeeds another, and they are beginning to realize that only reserved seats are left and all spoken for in advance by monopolists. The guarantee set forth in the declaration that all men were born equal and endowed with these rights: "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" seems to have clouded their visions while it existed only in theory. They are beginning to vaguely suspect that they have no liberties, as the struggle becomes severer day by day.

A nucleus of an advance guard is started here and our comrade gave a new impetus to the cause, a stimulus for intellectual effort which, I am sure, will in time bear fruit.

The sale of literature while not what we should have liked it to be was all we had reason to expect, and this also will help to spread the gospel of emancipation of society from the government of all man-made laws.

Comrade Goldman inspired us considerably and it was therefore with sad hearts we saw her part.

Scio, Ore. G. V. B.

* * * * *

SOME MISTAKES.

It perhaps was not wise to say that I was not an admirer of Comrade James, but it is true, nevertheless, and there are others that I respect, and hope to be able to continue to respect, of whom I could say the same thing. I did not suppose he would care or I should not have said it, as I do not like to hurt people for the sake of hurting them. Mr. James has certainly been very much misinformed as some of the statements he makes prove, for I know I never called a varietist a prostitute, neither would I have allowed others to do so in the paper. Personal abuse is not my fort.

I said through the columns of the *Banner of Light* before I commenced *Our Age* that our standard of sex morality was one of authority; that what we needed was a scientific standard founded upon the laws of nature, and that could not be had till all classes were not only permitted, but induced to give their experiences without fear or favor, and I think I afterward copied that article in my own columns. That is doubtless what he calls asking reformers to unmask.

I did shut Mr. Cook and two other men from my columns, but not because they advocated variety, for one of them was a strong opposer of variety. They all three attempted to run the paper for me, each saying of the two others that if I permitted them to write for me it would ruin the paper, and I got tired of it and shut them all out.

My position is that I have no more right to demand that the varietist live my ideal than the varietist has to demand that I live his ideal. My ideal is the perfect union of one man and one woman, but I do not believe that it is one's duty to starve because that has not been found.

I advocate, and have from the first, freedom for each to live their own ideal. I believe that such freedom will lead to the perfect union if that is the highest. I am ready to follow the truth wherever it leads, and I am willing to trust my sex with freedom.

LOIS WAISBROOKER.

* * * * *

WHO IS VISIONARY?

I have been studying for some time the subject of Anarchy; and for years I have been trying to fathom the extent of personal freedom. I have come to the conclusion that actual freedom for the individual is far more imaginary than real.

The extent to which one person can go without encroaching on territory that some other person has rights upon is very limited indeed. The human animal is quite gregarious; and it is admitted by all that a number of persons working together for one purpose can supply their actual needs easier to themselves and better than though each one was working alone single-handed for that which nature demands, and he must live. In thus working together, order and arrangemement are very necessary; and by each one thoroughly understanding what he must do, and what he must not do, the work goes on with system. These arrangements of the work must be made by some one and approved by the workers, and thoroughly understood by them to insure best results; and if they are written into a book, there will be less confusion than if every one is expected to remember his own part. While I have no apology for very much of the statute law now in existence, I fail to see how mankind is going to work together in harmony without man-made rules of conduct, and the point of angelhood that must be arrived at when no system of order need be written down is so remote to my mind that it is not worth while for us to take time to consider it. Good sense will dictate that we must consider humanity as we find it, and not from the standpoint of perfection that the mind in imagination may build; and short and easy lessons, upon which all who claim to be reformers can agree, will be considered and accepted, when a medley of opinions that can only bring confusion to the common mind will be rejected as unworthy of consideration at all. The attempt to convince the average individual that man-made law is unnecessary must in my opinion prove abortive as this generation is not born that way, and their minds are not open to any such argument.

I am not saying a word in favor of our present form of representative legislation, as it is a failure so far as securing rights for the common or poorer classes of the people is concerned; and there is but one part of it that falls to their share and that is to foot all the expenses. To educate them to the necessity of becoming their own legislators, is the only tangible route to reform that I can see. Visionary buildings may be all right enough in their places, as visions, and may be of great value in forming patterns for the real; but to burn up the real of today, to go out to live in the phantom buildings of the mind, would simply result in leaving us to the mercy of the storms.

I do not feel justified in working in any other field than trying to educate the people to the idea of the value they should be to themselves, and how necessary it is that they should do certain work for them-

selves instead of delegating others to do it for them; and though it may seem like "dining with publicans and sinners, and eating with unwashed hands," the place to work is down among the people themselves, meeting them with ideas they can assimilate; and though they blunder and make many mistakes, impress them that their mistakes are not irreparable, but are nothing more than could be expected of their untrained minds and inexperience.

But this idea of their starting out without law would be like going to sea without chart or compass. As fire is often most successfully fought with fire, so law can be fought with law; and when the people have been direct parties in making a law they are going to fight with more zeal for its maintenance. I do not wish to quarrel with anybody about their ideas; but I claim the right to an opinion of my own; and some funny thoughts run through my head when I read after some writers. I received a sample copy of a paper; and the first idea I got upon reading an editorial was that God had lost control of all terrestrial things and they were rushing headlong to final destruction, unless God called the editor of that paper in as his special adviser to right up matters again. Well; that was only a fancy building of mine; but the incomprehensible chaos that a person's mind would be thrown into, if he attempted to follow everything, or blend everything that is shouted as reform, would be dense indeed.

That mankind suffers untold miseries from the part of its stolid ignorance, no one will deny; and the burning question is: How is mankind to be educated? If all reformers agreed upon a plan or system of education, the work would be comparatively easy; but with the Kilkenny cats affair that is going on among them, the one who is more intent upon reforming and lifting up the people than simply trying to toot his own horn the loudest, must go right among the people themselves and ascertain the nature of lessons they are capable of learning, and assist them in the learning of that lesson, though still higher truth may dawn clear upon his own understanding. THOMAS BUCKMAN.

Marshfield, Ore.

COMMENT.

Mr. Buckman deserves respect as a sincere inquirer; but his objections to full liberty are those which have been refuted again and again. To "fight law with law" is the same unwholesome homœopathy with which the human race has been poisoned since governments came into being. Each generation has produced its own set of quacks, who have left the patient only the worse for their ministrations. If any dream be idle and vain, it is that of reaching social regeneration by a continuance of the very process which has for centuries been dragging men down to a condition of inequality and misery. The only "practical" reformer is he who prepares to lay the axe at the root of the evil. Anarchists consistently and sensibly reject halfway measures, as blinding the people to their real situation, and binding the fetters more tightly upon them. Mr. Buckman finds that the only practical remedy is to educate the people to their own rights and needs. Precisely; and we hold that the most rational plan is to spread the whole truth. We do not expect perfection from ordinary mortals; but we do aim to establish proper conditions for progress. Liberty is the parent of all true development, while force is a breeder of automatism in human actions. Remove artificial restraints, and the natural principle of human solidarity, coupled with an intelligent self-interest, will lead to association for common ends, wherever such a course would prove beneficial. The thousand little details which will arise will be settled when they present themselves. It is not necessary to worry over the wall paper before the foundations of the building are laid. And in the meantime? In the meantime we shall take whatever practical steps suggest themselves to secure for our fellows and ourselves what little degree of decent living is possible in the wretched tenement structure we now inhabit. But we leave to others the hopeless task of patching up the rotten structure, to evade the necessity for its demolition. We build for the future, it is true; but our plans are drawn to conform to human needs; and our foundation is the solid rock. JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

JESUS DOLLARS.

The *Examiner*, or "The Monarch of the Dailies," as Hearst grandiloquently dubs his paper, which he also boastingly calls "the framer of public opinion," gives his readers, June 13, illustrations of Mrs. Ella May Clemmons of this city, and her proposed designs for coins, under large type headings, "Christ's Image on the Coins—Mrs. Clemmons Would Have American Money Bear Likeness of the Savior—Idea Was Born in Church—Suggestion That the Coins Made in 1900 Be Marked in This Way."

Mrs. Ella May Clemmons, (Clemmons is the lady's maiden name, which she resumed after having been divorced) a sister of Mrs. Howard Gould, has a novel proposition to lay before the American people. She suggests that all coins made during the first year of the new century bear on their faces a likeness of Christ, and on the reverse side the crucifix. "Christianity has made America," said Mrs. Clemmons, "and today is pushing her onward. [Particularly in the Philippines and Idaho. K-J]. In gratitude to God, who has so long sustained and guided us, we, as a nation, should for one year, the first year of the new century, have stamped on all our coins the face of the Redeemer. What more fitting indication to the world that we are indeed a Christian people? [O Beelzebub! K-J]. This idea came to me last Sunday in Church."

This idea came to her in a Church where the texts, "the land shall not be sold," and "money is the root of all evil," are never named with comments. If money is ever mentioned it is the love of it, that is the only evil dilated on and, of course, the parsons abhor it, although God never calls them to another church, unless there are more dollars to be raked in, than can be obtained from the church they leave. They do not explain to their Clemmonses that the Church and the State have decreed that money shall be a necessity of life: "and Satan answered the Lord and said, Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will he give for his life," so that if life is loved, money must be loved for the sake of life.

Church and State are the two greatest frauds of all the ages; they are the manufacturers of all the other frauds. Neither of these two frauds could exist and spawn frauds without the help and connivance of the other.

Only one thing could make our coin more wickedly false, and that is, to bear a false image of the man who whipped the money changers out of the Temple, and for whose life the church members gave thirty pieces of silver money. History records no great man since Jesus the carpenter. His greatest act was that of whipping the money changers out of the Temple. He did this single handed, and for this Anarchistic act the money power and the priests plotted and accomplished his death. The habit of calling men great is false. If applied to Nero it must be, great brute; Napoleon, great ambition; Weyler and Otis, great butchers; Hanna and McKinley, great frauds. Even Garrison and Plimsoll, both noble men, were but great mistakes, for they did not strike at the cause of the evil. Jesus did.

"Jesus dollars" would be excellent coin, Mrs. Clemmons, for boodlers, prostitutes, gamblers, prizefighters, black-mailers and parsons to handle; you could not let them have too many, and they would doubtless be particularly pleasing to God's peculiar people who run this city.

Has it occurred to Mrs. Clemmons that Americans have "In God we trust" on metal money; Britishers "*Dei Gratia*"; Germans "Gott mit uns," etc?

Each nation, however, in its partial approach to sound, honest money—paper—strange to say, drops the governmental lies of "In God we trust," "By the grace of God," "God with us."

All governments are dishonest and cause the dishonesty of those who are forced to pay money to be governed.

Ella in carrying out her idea, must bear in mind that her God is mighty particular, so that if the image should be incorrect he would most certainly repudiate it, and this would cause an unspeakable commotion among those, especially, who hold most of it—the Jews. The crucifixion would be a very bad second place in the annals of rows, and, moreover, he is now overdue; the last appointment made with those who know all God's intentions, according to the signs he has given in the heavens and in this hell, was Easter of this year, 1899, but it did not materialize—but "the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night."

Be careful, make haste slowly; if E. M. C. wishes to alter the image on the coins, let the new design be as correct and appropriate as possible, according to present-day uses—such as buying the ten million Filipinos at two dollars each. It should signify evil of the most degraded kind. The old fashioned Devil who said certain words in Eve's ears would be too good—it should be the latest, the most sanguinary, heartless, and hypocritical, and the model can be found in the White House. KINGHORN-JONES.

* * * * *

Literature.

APPENDIX TO HEBREW AND CHRISTIAN MYTHOLOGY. By Judge Parish B. Ladd, LL. B. Price 20 cents. Published by the Truth Seeker Co., 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

The author analyzes christian mythology and comes to the sound conclusion that historical evidence fails to prove that Christ, as a personality, ever existed, quoting early christians who considered Christ "a mere phantom—an ideal being." The book is a valuable treatise on religious movements, showing that christianity is but a ramification of pagan religions and that priesthood is ever intolerant and revengeful, and if the churches have ceased to burn people at the stake for infidelity it is simply for want of power. But the author attributes the downfall of nations mainly to religion,—a very untenable position for a learned man. True, religion has been the means to keep the people submissive and obedient to authority—government, "until" in the words of Henry Addis "authority had so intrenched itself behind a multitude of privileges, extended to its supporters, that it could only be curtailed in its operation by its total destruction. * * * Infidel nations, nations that do not recognize any religion whatever, are as sure to fall as one that is founded on religion. The repression of individuality and the exploitation of labor, and the ostentation of vast wealth, will work the downfall of any nation—government—be it religious or non-religious."

BETTER-WORLD PHILOSOPHY; a social synthesis. By J. Howard Moore. Bound in cloth, 275 pages. Price $1. Published by Ward Waugh Co., McVicker's Building, Chicago, Ill.

The author takes the view that man is a being of desires and is here to satisfy them, and that even the satisfaction of the much stigmatized "animal propensities," or "carnal desires," whatever they be, may be just as noble as the desire for knowledge or opulence, and he, like the Anarchists, emphasizes that men should have equal access or the liberty to acquire access to the means for the satisfaction of desires. In short, he is not satisfied with the equalizing of opportunities, but contends for the balancing of abilities and denounces the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, through which the best are enslaved and the cunning and intrigueful have become usurping parasites. "*From* each according to his ability and *to* each according to his desires," is his motto. "There is no obligation commanding any being to endure misery save to avoid misery," says the author and then gives a definition of the relative terms of right and wrong, thus: "*Right* is that relation which is conducive to happiness, or welfare, or complete living. *Wrong* is that which conduces to the opposite—misery, ill-fare, maladaption." Recognizing that the acquisition of vast wealth by a few individuals and the impoverishment of the many is accomplished simply through laws and government—brute force—he is consciously or unconsciously an Anarchist.

THE EXTINCTION OF POVERTY. By Aug. Greth, M. D., 620 Laguna St., San Francisco, Cal. Price 25 cents.

The title of the above book is fascinating and very promising, yet the author is modest enough not to consider that he has found a perfect solution of the labor question, but simply advances his propositions as a nucleus from which to work in order to obtain immediate help and relief as far as circumstances will permit. Lack of space prevents an analytical review of the book and the dissipation of the author's error that capital and labor will be harmonized, but he has surely struck the keynote when he contends that the solution lies in the economical and not in the political domain; that "intelligent men and women will no longer consent to be mere beasts of burden" and that "they must rally to their own defense" on economical lines. He realizes the futility of political methods by which "demagogues easily disrupt and scatter" the workers, "leading them about in zig-zag ways, so they find themselves, after years of vain hope and struggle, at their old starting point." In exemplification of the ideas set forth in his book the author has organized the Provident Trust Society in this city with the view of benefitting its members economically, but by his anxiety to antagonize neither religion nor wealth he will soon realize that this compromising feature will limit his efforts to such an extent that he will find himself handicapped. Yet it must be admitted that this society is far ahead of the so called fraternal societies in existence.

222

The number printed or written on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

MATERIALISM.

C. L. James, in No. 219 of *Free Society*, is right as to my classification of phrenology as a superstition. It is not a superstition; it is a humbug. I frankly acknowledge having strained a point in asserting that phrenology is tarred with the brush of supernaturalism, but I regret to learn instead that our friend James himself is apparently strongly tarred with that brush or that he is at least guilty of that superficiality which he is so eager to charge against materialists. He says:

If there be a particle of truth in what is stated by the best psychologists concerning the phenomena of sleep, hypnotism, and somnambulism, there is seeing without eyes, hearing without ears, and other psychical phenomena without the organs commonly employed to direct and utilize the faculties implied in them.

Yes. And "if there be a particle of truth" in the story of Mary's immaculate conception, or in the story of Jonah and the whale etc. etc., there are gods, devils, angels, spooks and what-nots. But there is *not a particle of truth* in either. These little tales are good enough to rock thoughtless infants to sleep by, but they will not stand the test of common sense and *thorough* investigation. I am astonished at C. L. James' sweeping declaration that "these phenomena (seeing without eyes, hearing without ears, etc.,) are to some extent in every one's experience," for it stamps me as a non-entity. I have lived almost fifty-two years and such phenomena have certainly not been my experience. I am sure, moreover, that there are millions of people as ignorant regarding such phenomena as myself. I am inclined to think that James' authorities upon this subject are liable to magnify and exaggerate as badly as himself. I can well understand and have witnessed the phenomena of semi-action of the organs in question; and there might be cases in which the action is so slight and imperceptible that—especially to people with the "hitch" in their brains or the "itch" in their palms—it might *appear* as total inaction, but that is all there is in it.

I care as little for the judgement of James' authorities in favor of somnambulism and hypnotism and similar shams as I care for the judgement of his "masses" as to the rejection of materialism. Most of the former class are partly intellectual jugglers and partly deluded dupes, and the latter, the "masses," are a mass of inertia; dull, unthinking, unreasoning, indifferent, content to eat, drink, sleep and reproduce their sluggish kind. This is not intended as a reproach to them, for they are but the unfortunate victims of conditions and environments and are acting out their part of evolution. But to point to the judgement of such a class in the determination of the question under discussion seems so utterly absurd in a man of the intellectual stamp and the former radical utterances of C. L. James that the allusion almost took my breath away. It is as ridiculous to point to the judgement of the masses in the determination of this qestion as it would be to hope to receive their correct judgement of Anarchism. If James cannot adduce sounder arguments in favor of his supernaturalistic tendencies than the blind belief of the blind masses I am sorry for his cause.

That James bases one of his arguments against materialism upon the *unbelief* of the masses therein is queer enough but might be accounted for upon the hypothesis that he has joined the camp of his former adversaries, the majority-rule worshippers. It is the first time in my life, however, that I heard anybody reject a proposition in spite of his admission that it is self-evident; that is the height of absurdity. If James will not accept a theory that is *self-evident*, upon what evidence will he accept it,—upon sophistry, perchance?

Yet of all the breath-taking disclosures of James the declaration that "the obviousness of materialism is completely intelligible even to a dog" caps the climax. I am at a loss to grasp the depth of that idea, but I seriously hope our friend James has not been caught by King Otto's dog-mad-ism.

James does not seem to agree with Tyndall in regard to obviousness and selfevidence. Tyndall says: "Men who belong neither to the highest nor to the lowest intellectual spheres (mediocres. S. D.) often infer want of depth from perfect clearness. They find comfort and support in abstract and learned phraseology."

Ludwig Buechner says: "It is part of the very nature of philosophy to be intellectually the joint property of all. Philosophical disquisitions which cannot be understood by every educated man are not, in our opinion, worth the printer's ink that is spent on them. What is thought clearly, can be expressed clearly and without circumlocution. The philosophical mist which enshrouds the writings of learned men, seems rather intended to hide than to reveal thoughts. The days of learned tall-talk of philosophical charlatanism, and of 'intellectual legerdemain," as Cotta strikingly expresses it, are over by this time, or ought to be."

That the materialistic arguments have "exactly that superficial selfevident appearance" of egoism that "delights a superficial mind" is in the light of James' just ventilated expostulations rather a recommendation to the "superficial mind," it appears to me. It will be a long time, I fear, before James will be able to prove satisfactorily by actual demonstration—by demonstration patent to every fair investigator and not to a few jugglers and dupes only—that there is such a thing as seeing without eyes, hearing without ears etc; and it will require an equally long time, I am sure, for James to disprove the soundness of the egoistic philosophy by jumping out of his own skin. S. D.

A WICKED EDITOR.

One of our exchanges tells this: An editor who died of starvation was being escorted to heaven by an angel who had been sent for that purpose.

"May I look at the other place before I ascend to eternal happiness?" 'asked the editor.

"Easy."

So they went below, and skirmished around, taking in the sights. The angel lost track of the editor, and went around Hades to hunt him up. He found him by a big furnace fanning himself and gazing with rapture upon a lot of people in the fire. There was a sign on the furnace which read, "Delinquent Subscribers."

"You go on," said the editor; "I am not coming. This is heaven enough for me."

Order "Moribund Society and Anarchy."

"MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY" PUBLICATION FUND.

Previously acknowledged	$34.75
Heinrich Fluck Croston, each 25c	.75
Lombardi, Notkin, each 50c	1.00

RECEIPTS.

Please do not use private checks nor bank checks if you can avoid it.

The safest and most acceptable manner of remitting is by postoffice or express money order.

Week ending June 24.

Proceeds from a Tea-Party, By Notkin, $15. Kinghorn-Jones, $5. Buschweit, $1 25. Smith, $1 Forkman. 75c. Fluck, 70c. Plydell, 55c. Weinberg, Morwitz, Curth, Lambert, Baar, Trott, Mathiesen, Boudiett, Malny, Chavet, Nylen, Barduhn, each 50c. Banker, 25c. Seigle, 15c. Dobransky, Brownstein, each 10c.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

—o—

The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Court.

—AND—

Altgeld's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab.

This book contains a half-tone picture of our eight comrades and one of the monument erected at Waldheim cemetery to the memory of those murdered by the government. This is the best edition of the book ever printed. It contains 168 pages. Cloth 60 cents. Paper,

Price 25 Cents.

Address Orders to FREE SOCIETY.

Special rates for quantities, and to newsdealers.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNE OF 1871.

Translated from the French of

LISSAGARY by

Eleanor Marx Aveling.

The above book is the most reliable history of the Commune of 1871. and should be in every library of the student of revolutionary movements. The book contains 500 pages, bound in cloth We have made arrangements with the publishers and are enabled to mail the book postpaid for

75 cents.

Send your orders to FREE SOCIETY.

Lois Waisbrooker's Books.

My Century Plant	$1.00
Perfect Motherhood	1.00
Helen Harlow's Vow	.25
A Sex Revolution	.25
The Fountain of Life, or The Threefold Power of Sex	.50
The Occult Forces of Sex	.50

Address your orders to:

LOIS WAISBROOKER,

Santa Ana, Cal.

FREE SOCIETY'S AGENTS.

The following named persons will receive and receipt for donations and subscriptions for FREE SOCIETY:

Chicago, Ill. C. Pfuetzner, 469 Wabash Ave. C. Schlichenmeier, 40 Orchard St.
New York City. H. Maisel, 168 Henry St.
Brooklyn, N. Y. A. Levin, 555 Stone av.
Buffalo, N. Y. Hattie Lang, 205 Monroe St.
Philadelphia, Pa. N. Notkin, 242 Second St.
Allegheny, Pa. H. Bauer, 78 Springgarden av.
Baltimore, Md. F. Hirshson, 122 S. Exeter St.
Atlantic City, N. J. B. Morwitz, 2018 Baltic [Ave.
Providence, R. I. Bookbinder, 31 Robinson st. J. H. Cook. 40 Hanover St.
St. Louis, Mo. C. Norman, 110 S 16th St.
Milwaukee, Wis. Geo. Lutz, 1519 Lloyd St.
London, Eng. F. Goulding, 39 Meredith St., [Plaistow, London E
Glasgow, Scotland. Wm. Duff. 9 Carpin St, Gowan Hill.

Yankee Socialist, Leechburg Pa. the warmest "Yellow Kid" yet published It advocates Socialism with vigor, vim and persistency. The only real Yellow Journal in America. 50 cents a year. Send for sample copy.

BOOK LIST.

In lots of ten or more, five-cent pamphlets furnished at three cents each.

The State: Its Historic Role. By Peter Kropotkin	10
Law and Authority. By P. Kropotkin	05
Anarchist Morality. By Peter Kropotkin	05
The Wage System. Revolutionary Government. By Peter Kropotkin	05
Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal. By Peter Kropotkin	05
War By Peter Kroptkin	05
An Appeal to the Young. By Kropotkin	05
Anarchist-Communism: Its Basis and Principles. By Peter Cropotkin	05
Evolution and Revolution. By E. Reclus	05
Anarchy. By Enrico Malatesta	05
God and the State. By M. Bakounin	05
Direct Action vs. Legislation. By Smith	05
Monopoly, or How Labor is Robbed. By William Morris	05
The Emancipation of Society from Government. By Dallan Doyle	05
Mating or Marrying, Which? A Lesson from History. The Problem of Criminality. By W. H. Van Ornum	05
Essays on the Social Problem. By Henry Addis	05
Social Democracy in Germany. By G. Landauer	02
Social Conditions and Character. By "Ireland."	08
When Love is Liberty and Nature Law	10
For Love and Money. By Leighton Pagan.	15
My Century Plant. By Lois Waisbrooker. A treatise on the sex problem. Cloth	1.00
Helen Harlow's Vow. By L. Waisbrooker	25
Hilda's Home. By Rosa Graul. Cloth $1. Paper cover	50
Wherefore Investigating Company, regular price 50c, but while present supply lasts "they go at"	25
The Proletarian Revolt, a History of the Paris Commune 1871. By G. B Benham.	25

Discontent, Mother of Progress. A weekly advocate of Anarchism. Price 50 cents per year. Address: Discontent, Lake Bay, Wasa,

Freedom, a monthly journal of Anarchist-Communism. Address: 7, Lambs Conduit Street London, W. C. England. Price 40 cents per year, postpaid. Order from Free Society.

Lucifer, the Light-Bearer. Weekly eight pages, $1 per year. This paper gives light on the Sex Question, Humanity's greatest need. For Sample copies write to M. Harman, 1394 Congress St. Chicago, Ill.

THE

WHEREFORE INVESTIGATING COMPANY.

BY

LOIS WAISBROOKER.

An interesting book, written in story form, showing the inevitable and bad results which arise from monopoly in land. A splendid missionary book of 313 pages.

"LEND A COPY TO YOUR CONSERVATIVE NEIGHBOR."

"THE HOMELESS MILLIONS OF THE WORLD CRY LOUDLY FOR"—THE LAND.

This Book is Printed in Large Clear Type, and on Good Book Paper.

Regular Price, 50 Cents.

OUR PRICE, 25 CENTS.

50 YEARS' EXPERIENCE.

PATENTS

TRADE MARKS, DESIGNS, COPYRIGHTS &c.

Anyone sending a sketch and description may quickly ascertain, free, whether an invention is probably patentable. Communications strictly confidential. Oldest agency for securing patents in America. We have a Washington office. Patents taken through Munn & Co. receive special notice in the

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN,

beautifully illustrated, largest circulation of any scientific journal, weekly, terms $3.00 a year; $1.50 six months. Specimen copies and HAND BOOK ON PATENTS sent free. Address

MUNN & CO.,

361 Broadway, New York.